1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

843 for you. The child gets in the right position for coming out if you move around. The more you are a coward about it, the worse it will be for you."

842 843 Little attempt is made to control the sex of the expected child. Whether or not such control is possible is a moot point. One informant told of "a ceremony which causes them to have a boy or a girl. It is performed right at the beginning." The man was unable to supply the details, however. On another occasion the same person stated that, if a man scrapes his foot over the four sides of the woman in labor, a boy is born; but, if a woman touches the four sides with her hand, the baby is a girl. Most commentators discount these claims:

> There are lots of people here who would control it if they could, like D., who has all boys and wants a daughter.

> Whether it's a boy or a girl is in Yusn's[1] power; that's the way I look at it. Some shamans say they can control it, but I believe there is nothing to that.

843 However, the activity of the child during the prenatal period furnishes a clue to its sex. A fetus which "has lots of life" is presumed to be a male; a less active one, a female. Estimates of the length of pregnancy are approximately accurate.

[578] [754] It is essential for the expectant mother and her husband to avoid acrimonious clashes with others. "A pregnant woman has to keep out of fusses with other women because many are witches, and, if she quarrels with them, they may harm the child. The husband has to be careful of witches, too, when his wife is pregnant."

844 [602] At the onset of labor pains close female relatives of the woman attend her. Her mother, her mother's sisters, her mother's mother, and her older sisters are members of the relationship group from which assistants are most likely to come. If the husband's family lives near by, his mother or sister may be present. [759] When a woman skilled in midwifery is numbered among these relatives, no outside help is asked. Otherwise the service of a woman who has special ceremonial and practical knowledge is sought. Such a woman is often selected on the basis of "the good luck

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[1] A deity known also as Life Giver.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

privately ridiculed. Perversion seldom occurs and is not countenanced; it may even be equated with witchcraft.

The elders do not rely entirely on implicit attitudes and the demands of the training process to guard their children from undesirable sex scrapes but provide continual supervision as well. When an unmarried girl goes to social dances, she is accompanied by an older relative. Or she herself may be put in charge of a younger child so that she will not have time for an assignation. Her mother is strict and watchful. She tells the girl not to permit any intimacies from men or boys before her marriage and warns her about bearing unwanted babies. "A girl who goes wrong is usually one who has no close relatives, no mother, father, grandparents."

The mother, the grandmother, or some other female relative gives the girl counsel as the time for her first menses approaches. She is told that menstrual blood is dangerous to men and is instructed how to keep clean. She is encouraged to endure bravely the possible accompanying pain, for "as long as she acts like a child she is going to have a hard time at menstruation."

It is at this time that the girl may have a ceremony performed over her which results in sterility:

> No woman should be sterile. There is no excuse for any woman not to have children. That's the way my people talk and feel about it. The trouble is that those who are sterile have been ruined right when they came of age, about the time when they had their first flow. A girl's own mother might have a woman fix it so the girl won't have children. The father won't know anything about it. Sometimes the mother, who has had children and knows the pain and hard time of it, doesn't want her daughter to have children. There are women right now who know this kind of thing. S. and B. have had no children, and this must be why. Those who made us made every woman to have children without exception if not interfered with.

Often a similar charge is directed against a jealous shaman who has been called for some other service but who has taken advantage of the opportunity to injure the girl:

> We didn't have children for the first five years. We didn't try to prevent it. Then my wife found out that when she was young and sickly an old woman gave her some medicine. She didn't know it at the time, but it turned out to be medicine to prevent children. Some Indian women do this just for meanness.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1890) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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Her grandmother told her this. It was the same with her sister. Her sister had a child, but it took a long time.

The boy is exempt from the strict supervision to which the girl is subject. They "warn the boy about having a bad reputation. Boys are instructed all right, but you can't keep a boy back." 864

Yet there are a number of dangers against which the boy has to be warned. He must be advised that contact with menstrual discharges will make his joints swell and ache. He must also be told that "sometimes boys have sexual relations with old women; that is why they die." Because unmarried girls are so sedulously restricted, there is always the possibility that a youth may thus jeopardize his health: [841] [753] [833] 864 826 753 833

Sometimes a boy would go around with an old, experienced woman. Bad blood gets into him from these bad women. He gets arm aches and leg aches. Sometimes he gets aching all over like this before he is thirty years old; sometimes he is dead from it before he reaches this age.

This is because he is giving his richest blood [semen] to these older women and getting nothing in return but their diseased blood [vaginal discharges] which they got from having intercourse over a long period of time with other men, some of them sick and old. The people laugh at a young fellow who does this. He gives his young, good blood and prolongs and saves that woman's life.

I know a woman like that. She is an older woman who has been having intercourse with all kinds of men. J. was a young man. He became intimate with her and was very sick almost at once. She is still living and still doing it. The young men just shorten their lives by going with women like this. The bad blood that they get from such women comes out in lumps and sore joints.

It is usually the father who counsels the boy in these matters; often he adds frightening details: 864 [593]

I was taught by my father, "Don't do anything to any woman. They have teeth in there. They bite off your penis. And some have diseases." I've heard many parents say the same thing to boys.

Once my father gave me something sweet. He said, "You like this. You like to eat it; it tastes good. You like to live and be well. Then keep away from girls and women. Don't have anything to do with them. They have teeth and will bite off your penis."

Finally I asked some older boys about this. They told me, "No, the old people just tell that to you to scare you. There isn't anything to it. When you get a good thing, don't let it go. If you live long enough, you're going to do it anyway, so you're just going to be the loser if you let a good chance pass."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

848 [581] chance for a good marriage if she has an illegitimate child, however." Illegitimacy may even be a spur to achievement:

[555] An illegitimate child, when he realizes that he has no father, tries to make good in other ways, by bravery perhaps. There was a man in my group who was illegitimate but who rose to be a leader in war. He was recognized as a brave and good man and was respected. A man can rise from an illegitimate childhood position to wealth or even chieftainship if he has powerful friends.

842 *Theories of conception.*—Any discussion of illegitimacy raises the question of theories of conception, for the term for "bastard," literally, "child of many," is the verbal symbol of far-reaching notions.

Ideas of fetal development begin much like modern scientific dicta:

We believe that life is connected with a woman's egg. I've never heard them talk much about what there is there first from which the child develops. Everything has to start from eggs, I guess. Turtles and birds do.

842 826 Likewise the male seminal fluid is seen as a fertilizing agent. But here the parallel ceases:

[828] I have heard the old men speak about it [i.e., semen] and say that it comes out of very rich blood. It is the very best, the richest blood. It is stored up in the testicles. Then it affects the feeling of all the nerves [creates desire] and it is the belief that it brings birth. It affects both men and women.

The Chiricahua believe that there is in the woman a pouch with her blood in it. When the man has intercourse with a woman, some of his blood [semen] enters her. But just a little goes in the first time, and not as much as the woman has in there. The child does not begin to develop yet, because the woman's blood struggles against it. The woman's blood is against having the child; the man's blood is for it. When enough collects, the man's blood forces the baby to come.

842 A logical extension of the "blood accumulation" theory is the belief that impregnation cannot occur as a result of a single sexual contact. Said a spokesman in reference to his first sexual experience:

One night when I was out with her, we got pretty excited. I handled her quite a lot. She resisted a little but not too much, and finally she let me do it. . . . After we finished, I felt pretty ashamed. I took that girl back. I avoided her for quite a time. Later on I got over it and didn't avoid her, but I never took her out again or did anything to her.

I wasn't afraid that I had got her in trouble. I had only had intercourse with her once. Nothing can come of that. You have to do it with a girl twenty or

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

even forty times to have a baby. There are cases where a baby has come sooner, but they are very rare. I believe this today. It is a general Chiricahua belief. I have seen it work out too many times to doubt it. 842

Acceptance of this idea reduces the fear of the consequences of an isolated sexual experience, but it dooms the unmarried mother to the stigma of having been repeatedly unchaste. The girl who claims that she is with child as the result of but one misstep is simply not believed. [558] [848] [836]

In another account the blood accumulation theory is worked out more precisely:

You have to have intercourse with a girl more than once to get a baby started. If you do it about three times a week, you will have a baby started in about two or three months. But it depends on the man and woman and on how much they do it. I know of a girl who had intercourse with a man many times in one night. If a girl did it at that rate, it wouldn't take any time at all to get a child started. [833]

This theory of conception does not demand that the necessary semen be that of one man:

If a woman has intercourse with more than one man over a period of time, the child that comes will belong to both of them; each man contributes something to its physical makeup. The child will belong mostly to the man who has had most intercourse with the woman. If a woman has intercourse with many men and a child is born, the men say that each one has some small part in the child. Of a child of a loose woman one often hears a man say, "I have an elbow in there," or, "I have a foot in there."

It is believed that many men can be the father of one child. If a woman goes with several men, it is said that the child belongs to all of them. That is why an illegitimate child is so good-looking. He has the good points of all the men. And that is why the word for illegitimate child means "child of many." It can have parts from more than one man. [827] [848] [792]

It is obvious from the last two excerpts that there exists a well-defined concept of heredity, based upon the continuity of the "blood" and its properties. This was made more explicit by a commentator who declared: "Children look like their parents. My oldest daughter looks like my mother, the old men tell me. My youngest daughter looks like her mother." This view is also expressed in joking. Thus, a young man was told by his friends that his big ears strangely resembled those of an illegitimate child whose parentage had not been fully accounted for. 842 827 [522]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

842 827 648 595 Not long ago the idea that a child may have more than one father was introduced in a legal dispute. A man had been practicing polygyny with two sisters. Since plural marriages are banned by white edict, only one of these women could be registered as his lawful wife. When the other became pregnant, the problem arose of how to answer the queries of the agency officials. Finally, the woman blamed another young man for her [837] condition, and, since he admitted having had intercourse with her three times, it seemed that he would be punished and be forced to support the baby. It was here that native doctrine was invoked. A legally minded brother of the accused man proved to the superintendent that the "secret husband" had been having relations with this woman and asserted that the child belonged "more to that man than to anyone else." It is doubtful that the superintendent understood the latter statement, but he was enough impressed by the testimony concerning the woman's irregular conduct to reduce the threatened punishment.

826 833 With the theory of blood accumulation goes a concept of blood exchange. The primary result of sexual intercourse is to add male blood to the store of female blood. The condition of the generative blood of the man is modified by his age and the state of his health. The blood accumulated within a woman has two special characteristics in addition. First, it is associated somehow with the menstruum. Menstrual blood is most dangerous to [841] men; contact with it brings, at the least, rheumatic joints. [753] Therefore, men fear it and avoid intercourse with menstruating women. Second, a woman's blood is in a special category because, if she is promiscuous, her augmented supply represents the contributions of many men of dubious soundness.

826 833 753 This fully explains the warning to young men against tampering with older women of bad reputation. Evidently, it is suspected that during intercourse the man's genitals may come in contact with the woman's blood and that any disease which it carries can be thus transmitted to him. Tuberculosis, for instance, has been considered communicable in this way:

> In the time before my day and my father's day, the Chiricahua didn't know what tuberculosis was. They knew that sometimes a man's stomach got bad and

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

262 Ceremonial considerations, too, govern the consumption of eggs, particularly for women:

[842] We always ate eggs. Some women won't eat eggs for fear of getting children, however. But this is according to the shaman's directions. We eat the eggs of the quail and duck.

252 262 Those who do eat eggs prefer them boiled or roasted in hot ashes:

Some people eat the eggs of the quail, the duck, and other birds. A good many quail eggs are found together. The eggs are boiled, or a fire is made, the ashes are pushed aside, the eggs are put in there, and the ashes are put back over them.

Most meat is prepared by broiling over an open fire or by boiling, though some of it is pit baked. In the common broiling processes the meat is suspended over the coals with a stick held in the hand, or it is placed on top of the hot coals and turned at intervals. Sometimes it is cooked by placing it on a flat rock which borders a hot fire, while another rock, lying perpendicular to the first, holds in the heat. The most choice portion of meat is the fat part "on top of the ribs" next to the skin.

The favorite method of cooking wood rats, rabbits, and prairie dogs is to bury them in hot ashes before skinning them, and then to skin and eviscerate them when they are well roasted. But one informant, in describing how rabbits may be cooked, said: "Throw the whole rabbit on the coals. When it is partly cooked, take it off, skin it, take out the insides, and put it back on the coals to finish." Rats are sometimes skinned and cleaned before being roasted in hot coals. Wood rats and rabbits are also boiled, but this is a less popular mode of preparation.

Mountain lion or peccary meat, when it is prepared for those who will eat it, is roasted or boiled in the same manner as deer, antelope, or elk meat.

For those who have no aversion to eating any part of the head, it is cooked in a heap of hot coals or is steam baked in a small pit: "My people put the deer head in the fire, cover it with ashes, and let it cook. They break the eyes first. That is their way. It is done for good luck." The pit-baking method resembles the way in which mescal is prepared:

[825] [777]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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They tell this story of a certain man. They say he was J.'s grandfather. He married and when he and his wife went to bed the first night, he just turned away from her. She didn't think much of it at first. Then he did the same thing the second night. Every night she thought he was coming to her, but he turned the other way instead. He did this for seventy-five nights, and then she left him.

BIRTH CONTROL, BARRENNESS, AND FERTILITY RITES

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[581]
[586]

A childless marriage is considered a great misfortune, and sterility is an accepted cause for divorce. Sterility in a woman is sometimes attributed to a ceremony conducted over her in girlhood by envious or scheming adults.[2] But often a disappointed husband wonders whether his wife "has hired a man or woman who knows herbs and a ceremony to make her sterile, so that she won't be bothered by children:"

> I have heard old people say that some women can perform a ceremony for another woman, and she will have no children no matter how many men have intercourse with her. Girls of about the age of puberty go through it, and older women who have too many children go through it too. They have a medicine to drink and a ceremony that goes with it that will prevent birth forever. Certain people practice this ceremony. It has to be paid for like any other ceremony.

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Various methods for the prevention of pregnancy have been described. "Rock crystal is used as a medicine when a woman does not want a child. The rock is ground up fine, and some of the powder is put in a drink. There are prayers and a ceremony connected with this, but I do not know them." A certain variety of small prickly-pear cactus fruit, because it is rare and its fruits are said not to ripen, is magically associated with these practices.

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Food or behavior restrictions imposed as a part of such ceremonies must be carefully observed. "If a woman is avoiding pregnancy by keeping away from some food or drink, such as honey, and breaks this fast, she will become pregnant." It is noteworthy that honey should be specifically mentioned as one of the foods prohibited if a woman wants no children, for beeswax is said to be "used ceremonially to cure sterility in women."

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Because of the prevailing desire for children and the insecurity of a childless woman, fecundity ceremonies are of much more frequent occurrence. In one of these rites the practitioner cere-

[2] See pp. 80-81.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

842 monially feeds one egg (now a hen's egg) and the testicle of a rabbit to her client each day. This is accompanied by the throwing of pollen to the directions and appropriate prayers. According to the account, "she does this a few days, and then the woman is with child."

[788] [782]

A ceremony performed by an old woman resulted, one man and his wife feel sure, in the birth of their only child:

> My wife was eager to have children. She didn't do anything about it at first. But four or five years after our marriage we had an old woman perform a ceremony over her. It was held at the camp of the old woman in the springtime of the year, when everything comes to life. The ceremonial woman blew smoke to the directions first. Then she used pollen. The ceremony was prayer mostly. My wife had to eat some chicken eggs.

[788] [782]

Childless marriages are sometimes attributed to male sterility:

> It's not only the rich blood [semen] of a man that causes him to have children. Yusn has made it that way. When it's going to be that way, it's going to be that way. I've heard some men say that, if Yusn doesn't want it to happen, you won't get children.

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Informants have cited cases of the divorce of childless couples, after which the woman has remarried and borne children, while the second union of the man is as unproductive as the first:

> Sometimes each blames the other if there are no children; a woman sometimes holds a man to blame for this and divorces him. Who is to blame is found out soon enough, for they marry others and prove the truth.

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Such instances provide proof that "some men are unable to give children." The sterile man tries to overcome his misfortune. "A man might get treatment [ceremonial] for sterility too."

JEALOUSY AND EXTRA-MARITAL RELATIONS

152 593 586 837 To judge from the number of instances which have been reported, extra-marital affairs are not infrequent and usually lead to tension between husband and wife. "Jealousy and consequent quarreling are grounds for divorce. Jealousy is the foundation of divorce. Women are more to blame than men; they nag more." Despite this pronouncement, actual cases of jealousy seem to be quite evenly divided between the sexes. Of one man it is said: